1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

the playmate relationship is sometimes dependent on a potential social relationship. The playmate relationship may exist between a man and his wife's brother's wife, but only if she belongs to some clan other than his own; for a woman of the same clan is a sister, and the joking relationship with a sister is not permissible.

As regards the use of personal names, the general rule is that no one of the generation immediately senior may be addressed by his personal name. Thus a man may not address by their personal names his father or father's brothers and cousins, his father's wives, his mother and her brothers and cousins, though he may so address his grandparents and their brothers and cousins. A son may, however, call his father by a personal name of his own invention, and a mother by the new name bestowed on her by her husband at marriage.

Parents-in-law are not addressed by their personal names; but this rule appears to be relaxed frequently between a man and his father-in-law, as the taboo between these two relatives appears to be of a less strict character than that subsisting between a man and his mother-in-law and a woman and her parents-in-law. The taboo between a man and his mother-in-law is so strict that he will leave the road when he sees her coming; and not merely does he avoid the use of her personal name, but she avoids his also. It may be of interest to describe here a meeting witnessed between a man aged sixty and the parents of his young wife. He had travelled a long distance to see them. He went down on his knees before his mother-in-law and bent his head, murmuring, "Akwaiya akwangnu—are you well, mother-in-law?" To which she replied: "Ungwanu ka kwa sha sham?" (Is my daughter well?). The mother-in-law also asked after the welfare of her daughter's child, and there the conversation finished. The son-in-law withdrew, and then dispatched a boy to his mother-in-law with a gift of a bag of salt, as modesty would have prevented his handing it to her personally. He then sought out his father-in-law, with whom there was much less restraint. After the formal greetings he handed his father-in-law a gift of several pounds of tobacco and had a lengthy evening's conversation with him. When it came to the time of the evening meal, however, each ate his meal by himself in the company of a young boy of the household.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

551 576 604 Many Katab appear to use the personal name of the father's sister, a custom which would be regarded as shocking by many other tribes. The reason given was that she lives at a distance, and also that the speaker may one day stand to her in the relation of guardian, i.e. he may have the disposal of her hand in marriage. Otherwise, however, a man has little claim on his father's sister's household, and cannot exercise the privileges there which he can in the house of his mother's brother.

551 576 607 Though a woman may be inherited by her husband's elder brother she may not address him by his personal name, for if he is not actually the head of the family he is so potentially. But he may address her by her personal name. Per contra, it was stated that a man may use the personal name of his wife's elder brother.

604 *Mother-right.*—The traditions of the Katab connect them with a locality (viz. Kahugu) where there is to-day at least one mother-right tribe, and it is interesting, therefore, to note here any customs which might suggest that the tribe in former times belonged to a mother-right group. But it is not suggested that the following data necessarily imply a former condition of mother-right, for it is possible that customs which are commonly assumed to point to mother-right conditions are capable of explanation in other ways. We have seen that, although the mother's brother has a special title, he is nevertheless classed as 604 *atio* or father. This is natural, for we have already said that if 753 a Katab falls ill he usually goes and lives with his mother's 574 relatives. Why? There is a ready explanation. Sickness is commonly attributed to witchcraft or the machination of persons [754] who are evilly disposed. By removing yourself from the locality you are removing yourself from local poisonous influences which are often ascribed to the activity of jealous half-brothers or their mothers. And so we find the custom, which is common among both pagan and Muslim tribes, of a sick man taking refuge with his mother's family. The uterine nephew is, in fact, the object 604 of special care all through his career on the part of his uncle, who is a kind of second father or "male mother".[1] He not infrequently goes to live with his mother's brother if the latter has no one to help him on his farm, and in such a case would,

[1] Among many Nigerian tribes a person will say that his maternal uncle "bore" him.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

[512] takes his flask of water, performs his toilet, and then salutes
576 each member of his household. The Katab is not a polite person, judging by the standard of Muslim politeness, or that of some other pagan tribes. He salutes no one he does not know, not even senior members of his own clan. If you enter his compound and say "Salaam alaikum" he will say "maraba" or "ma'aban", but will not rise to welcome you. A grown-up son would think little of striking his own father. The Hausa forms of salutation have to some extent been adopted, but it is noticeable that while a man will salute another in the Hausa form he will [562] avoid saluting a woman in this way. Thus in the morning he will say to a man "Kwal lafiya", whereas to a woman he would say "Akwai lafaya". In the evening he would say to a man "Barka", but to a woman he would say "Akwamam sham-sham". Men may copy the higher civilization of the Hausa, don gowns, and so on, but women may not, and the different modes of salutation to men and women may be considered a reminder that new-fangled ideas do not apply to women-folk. The general salute is *sanunwan* (sing.), *sanunyin* (pl.). In welcoming a stranger the householder speaks first, and a local resident is always the first to salute a stranger. Friends salute by each placing his thumb and forefinger together against those of the other, and cracking them. But senior men salute by pulling each other's beards.[1] Those who had taken the head of any enemy were saluted as *mwaliak*, and it was customary to hold up to them the right hand.

512 To return, however, to the daily life of the individual, when
461 the chief of the household has made his salutations he procures for himself such scraps of food as have been left over from the previous evening's meal, and having eaten these takes his hoe (if he has not given up farming, and it is the farming season) and starts off for his day's work, which he carries on until mid-day, when he stops to partake, under a tree, of the porridge brought by his wife. He will then work on until six in the evening, with another short break about 3.30 in order to consume the remnants [515] of the porridge left over from the mid-day meal. On returning home he may wash himself or not, according to his views on cleanliness, and then await the preparation of the evening meal, which he eats with his brothers and children. He may

[1] See the photograph facing p. 81.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

held up the head, and, putting a little digitaria porridge in his mouth, spat it out over the head, saying to the head-winner: "I thank you. Good fortune go with you, and may you get many more heads." On the same day they returned to their own town, where the festivities were continued for a further two days. On the fifth day the head-winner, the local priest, and friends took the head to the village of the warrior's maternal uncle or grandfather, who congratulated his nephew and slew a goat to celebrate the occasion. A feast was held and the uncle gave his nephew a hoe, bidding him use the iron of the hoe to fashion fresh spears and arrows that he might go and give further proof of his prowess. The nephew then returned to his home, where he was ever afterwards saluted as "mwaliak", the right hand being held up to him. The uncle buried the head in mud, and left it there until it was completely cleaned of all flesh.[1] He then took the head and a jar of beer to the nephew's village, where a feast, attended by warriors and old men, was held. The head-winner was once more given a protective draught, and his body was smeared with mahogany oil. The head was finally handed to the local priest who deposited it in the skull hut.[2] This hut had a small entrance, and the skulls were hung up inside on an ant-proof rafter of the roof. Every harvest the priest offered thanks, taking out the skulls, and spitting on them fragments of porridge made from the first-fruits of digitaria millet.

The noteworthy points about the rites are: (*a*) the use by the head-winner of protective medicines, and the avoidance of his own hut at night time; (*b*) the swallowing (without chewing) of a small piece of the flesh of the captured head; (*c*) the recognition of Shokwa as the priestly father of the tribe; (*d*) the important part played by the head-winner's maternal relatives; (3) the head-winner only considered the act of getting a head as a means of distinction; there was no underlying religious idea such as that the dead enemy would be his slave in a future life.

It may be added that the Zaria Hausa and Fulani never had sufficient control over the tribe to interfere with head-hunting.

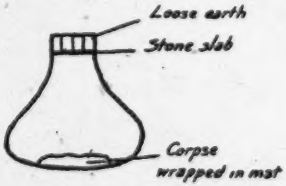
[1] But at the conclusion of the feast the head was often boiled and cleaned by the Magajin Elenowum instead of being buried in mud whence it might be stolen.

[2] Some sections of the tribe had special "skull huts". In others the skulls were hung up in the Magajin Elenowum's hut.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
KAGORO

with ululations and the blowing of horns. He handed the head to a relative who put a string through the lips and danced about with it. He himself went straight to the priestly family which had charge of the head-hunting rites. From them he received a protecting draught consisting of some palm and mahogany oil intermixed with a few drops of the blood from the head. He was subjected to numerous taboos. He was not allowed to speak or touch the ground, being carried round on the shoulders of friends in the same way as a successful athlete in England. After the dance the warrior was taken to his house. The head was buried in mud by the priestly family and when it was clean of all flesh was deposited in the skull hut, which was to be found in every Kagoro village. When this was done a feast was held, but at this feast no women or young people were allowed to be present. All congratulated and thanked the warrior, holding up to him the index finger of the right hand, a mode of salutation to which he became entitled for the rest of his life. The Kagoro refrained from taking the heads of their Morwa and Katab neighbours, confining their energies to the Ataka and Kaje tribes. In times of war the Kagoro abstained from drinking beer. Their villages were protected by hedges of cactus which provided good cover for discharging their arrows. The hills and caves in the rear offered a safe retreat if they were driven out of their villages.

The Kagoro grave is of the decanter type, a type which may have had its origin in pot burial.



As stated in the Katab report, the Kagoro tribal marks are similar to those of the Katab, Morwa, Ataka, Kaje, Jaba, and Kagoma. The Kagoro call the Katab "Atiap", the Morwa "Asulio", the Kaje "Ajio", the Fulani "Fata", and the Hausa "Akpat". They call themselves the Agwolok.